

EYES ONLY

D. ELLSBERG

The Honorable Paul H. Nitze
Deputy Secretary of Defense
Room 3E-928, The Pentagon
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Paul:

As a result of Bill Kaufmann's conversation with you, I have started to examine how we might best implement your proposal for a meeting of those high officials in the national security area who have left or will soon depart the government. As you know, I would like to sponsor such a meeting and make available RAND's facilities for the discussions, the provision of a transcript, and the storage of such documents as the participants wish to have available.

Since such a meeting (or meetings) will be possible only with your support and endorsement, I hope that we can prevail on you to extend the invitations. RAND, of course, will provide whatever staff assistance you may need in this connection, and will fund the expenses of the participants.

I gather from Bill Kaufmann that you welcome suggestions for the organization and conduct of the sessions. Accordingly, here are some preliminary thoughts on how we might proceed.

While it might be convenient to hold the meetings before January 20, I assume that your time will be at a premium until after the inaugural. No doubt you will also want to get away from Washington for some weeks thereafter, so that March is probably the earliest time at which we could schedule the sessions.

Although the participants will have difficulty in making the necessary time available, I imagine that we will need around four days to cover the main topics. In addition, I think we should plan on

following up the meetings with a series of individual interviews which could then be added to the record. RAND personnel could conduct these interviews in close consultation with you.

No doubt the discussions will generate their own momentum. Nonetheless, I suspect that we should have a chairman and an agenda. I assume also that the composition of the group will vary, depending on the topic under consideration. You are the obvious person to chair the sessions, but if you feel that it would be too onerous and inhibiting for you to do so, I would be glad to nominate some alternatives. In addition, I would like to include several observers - specifically, Dan Ellsberg, Andy Marshall, and Bill Kaufmann. Their participation in the discussions would naturally be at the pleasure of the group.

On the basis of our talks with you, I suggest the following agenda of major topics for the meeting:

1. Force planning: covering such matters as preparation of the budget and the FYDP; the roles of the Services, the Service Secretaries, the JCS, and OSD in the process; the impact of systems analysis and the Office of Systems Analysis; and how both the Bureau of the Budget and the White House influence the decisions and apportionments.
2. Logistics planning: to include the basis for planning (D-to-P and shipfills, for example); the costs of maintaining high states of readiness; the reliability of the information system; the extent to which OSD controls implementation of Logistic guidance; the problems associated with overseas basing, prestockage, and strategic mobility.

3. R&D planning: dealing with questions such as the effectiveness of the current approach to the allocation of R&D resources; the staffing and management of DDR&E; the process by which ideas for new systems get into the decision-making stream; the implementation of R&D directives by the Services; the role of cost-effectiveness analysis in the R&D process and the appropriate point to introduce it.

4. The role of intelligence in planning: a number of questions here of a necessarily sensitive nature dealing with the products of the intelligence community; the role of the consumer in generating requirements; internal DOD organization and management; and DOD's relations with CIA and DCI (this topic would require a special agenda and a specially screened group).

5. Contingency planning and the management of operations: covering a wide range of subjects, such as the process of drawing up and reviewing war plans; projecting the outcomes of operations; and reviewing the management of operations (both political and military) with respect to the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban missile crisis, the Middle East, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, and other political-military problems of the past eight years.

6. Relationships with DOD: dealing with questions such as the role and influence of the JCS; the role of the Service Secretaries; military experience and judgment versus systems analysis; the extent to which the relationships and power centers change during a crisis or a war; and the types of "treaties," tacit or explicit, negotiated among the major groupings.

7. External relations of DOD: to cover matters such as the major problems in relations with the Congress, the State Department, the

Bureau of the Budget, the White House, and the "military-industrial" complex; the institutions developed for coping with these problems; and the role of the Congress and the key executive agencies in formulating and implementing defense policies.

If you find this agenda generally in accord with your own thoughts, we shall elaborate it further so that the chairman will have before him a substantial list of questions with which to stimulate the discussions. In this connection, once you have decided upon the participants, I think it would be desirable to obtain their views on items to be included on the agenda.

I should add that we at RAND are understandably interested in the role played by systems analysis in defense decision-making during the last eight years, and in the organizational environment of its operation. I hope, therefore, that some portion of both the meeting and the follow-up interviews can be devoted to such questions. The views of your group on the lessons learned from this innovation will undoubtedly influence greatly the substance and presentation of RAND's work in the future.

I understand from Bill Kaufmann that you and he had some discussion of possible participants in the sessions and interviews. Rather than list names here, I enclose two attachments: a draft letter of invitation and a possible agenda for a four-day meeting accompanied by the names of those who might contribute most effectively to the particular agenda item. We have included several retired military officers as well as Senator Jackson. You may deem their inclusion inappropriate. On this score, as well as on all other aspects of the conference, we will be guided by your wishes.

As a final matter, I assume that all the participants will want to have well-defined rules about the custody of, access to, and use of the transcripts of the meetings and any follow-up interviews. RAND will be happy to take custody of the record and establish whatever rules of access, use, and attribution that the group deems appropriate. Our Washington office will also make available storage space for your personal papers for as long as that may suit your convenience.

I have asked Bill Kaufmann to call on you again after you have received and pondered this excessively long letter. He will be in Washington the week of December 30 and will request an appointment then. Meanwhile, I hope you will let me know if there is any further way in which we can foster what should be an invaluable enterprise.

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Rowen

DRAFT LETTER TO PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS
From Mr. Nitze

Dear _____:

I am writing to inquire whether you would be able and willing to spare a few days in March to participate in a review of national security plans and operations during the past eight years. The RAND Corporation has agreed to cover the expenses of the meeting, to make available its Washington office for this purpose, and to maintain secure custody of the transcript of our sessions, subject to whatever rules of access, use, and attribution that the participants establish. To the extent that follow-up interviews may be desirable, RAND has also agreed to undertake them in consultation with me.

I realize how difficult it may be for you to find even four days for a meeting in Washington. However, a number of us who engaged in comparable sessions with Dean Acheson early in 1953, discovered not only that we had created a valuable historical record, but also that we were able to specify lessons from our experiences that served us well later in our careers. I believe that you will find these meetings of equal value, and I hope very much that you can attend the sessions indicated on the attached list.

You will also see from the list who are the other invitees. At this point I would appreciate hearing whether you think it feasible for you to participate; we can negotiate the exact dates once we know whether we can count on you. As soon as our list of acceptances is complete, I will circulate a preliminary agenda for the sessions. I am hopeful that you will then make suggestions about specific topics to be covered.

Do let me know as soon as possible whether I can count on your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul H. Nitze

Sample Agenda and Possible Participants

First Day

Morning: Force Planning

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Resor
Mr. Ignatius
Dr. Brown
Mr. Hitch
Dr. Enthoven
General Taylor
Admiral McDonald
Lt. Gen. Emrick

Afternoon: Force Planning

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Resor
Mr. Ignatius
Dr. Brown
Mr. Hitch
Dr. Enthoven
General Taylor
Admiral McDonald
Lt. Gen. Emrick

Second Day

Morning: Logistics Planning

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Resor
Mr. Ignatius
Dr. Brown
Mr. Hitch
Mr. Morris
Dr. Enthoven
General Taylor
Admiral McDonald
Lt. Gen. Emrick

Afternoon: R&D Planning

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Nitze
Dr. Brown
Dr. Foster
Mr. Hitch
Dr. Enthoven
Dr. Wiesner
Dr. Hornig

Third Day

Morning: Intelligence community

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Vance
Mr. McCone
Admiral Raborn
Dr. Larson
Mr. Horowitz
Dr. Flax
Mr. Bissell
Lt. Gen. Carter

Afternoon: Contingency plans
and operations

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. McGeorge Bundy
Mr. Rostow
Mr. William P. Bundy
Mr. Warnke
General Taylor
Admiral McDonald
Lt. Gen. Emrick

Fourth Day

Morning: Relationships within DOD

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Vance
Mr. Resor
Mr. Ignatius
Dr. Brown
Dr. Enthoven
General Taylor
Admiral McDonald
Lt. Gen. Emrick

Afternoon: External Relations
of DOD

Mr. McNamara
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Nitze
Mr. Vance
Mr. Stempler
Mr. Kermut Gordon
Mr. Schultz
Mr. Zwick
Mr. McGeorge Bundy
Mr. Rostow
Senator Jackson